566 most unimportant and useless of things.

Along with the ubuguragu contract and other leases of live-
437 stock such as the ingwate and its variants, the indagizo (1) etc.,

1. Cf. Property, Ownership of Cattle, p. 46.

Ruanda common law has a number of other [79] contracts. We will list in the following which are those in most common use.

Purchase-sale (kugura)

443 These transactions take place in the markets (amaguriro, plural iguriro), located usually at the crossroads of the thoroughfares.
437 The most frequented are those of Rukiga and Kinyaga. The people of Buganza and Buliza come there to exchange their cows for salt,
[435] provisions, beer, honey, baskets, etc. In the past, animals and things on sale were valued in hoes (1).

1. The salt seller wishing to obtain a bull calf would ask how much it was worth in hoes. He would be answered, "Fifty." He would then take a basket of salt valued at one hoe and would give 50 of these to the owner of the bull calf. A current expression was: "It is a three-hoe goat." Today a hoe is worth 8 francs.

Specialized merchants (abatunzi, lit., the rich) also go there and offer for sale produce and objects they have brought from far
[301] away, for example ubutega (2) made in Urega (country of the Warega).

2. These thin rings of rattan fiber worn around the legs by the Banyarwanda women from their ankles to their knees were formerly fairly valuable. Three thousand
[435] ubutega were worth a bull calf, and a complete set of the ornaments could be bought only with the payment of two sterile cows.

Sometimes they combine their resources in order to make large purchases (gufatanya urutundo, lit., to assemble business).

443 Women and children are admitted to the markets without
579 restriction. In the past, people came armed, for they risked being robbed or even killed on the way by highway bandits.

The Lease of Services (kununga).

[465] A man may agree to work for another for 50 days, for example, at the rate of [80] one or two days a week on the condition of receiving the meat of one cow in exchange.

437 Exchange (kuguza) (1)

1. Kuguza, lit., "to agree to give an advance."

A Mututsi asks a Muhutu for a granary of sorghum (ihundo, lit., an ear of sorghum) for example, in exchange for a bull calf or hoes (usually 30).

The Loan (gutiza)

426 The Banyarwanda distinguish the loan for use (commodatum) from the simple loan (or loan for consumption).

If the loan for use, in hoes for example, is granted without interest, the same is not true of the loan for consumption, which involves edible produce. Whoever has received a basket of sorghum or beans must usually return two. The basket of supplementary produce which must be given the lender is called kirenga.

The Guarantee (kuchyungura).

Primus owns a pruning knife which Secundus would like to borrow. Secundus does not know Primus, so he goes to Tertius, a friend of Primus. Tertius tells Primus to lend his pruning knife to Secundus and offers himself as surety if the latter does not return the tool. Tertius may eventually turn against Secundus.

This contract can be made for cows, granaries of sorghum, etc.

Security (ingwate)

Primus wishes to borrow a few baskets of beans from Secundus. But Secundus answers that he cannot give them to him without a guarantee. Primus then offers Secundus a goat, for example (2).

2. A goat is worth three hoes.

When he brings Primus the counterpart of his loan, he takes back the goat.

502 vice versa. These dugouts also hug the shoreline so that it is possible to punt for the entire distance, which is faster than rowing. [74] It takes them five days to cover the distance between these two points which, measured in a straight line, are approximately 180 kilometers apart. At the present time [136] they only travel at night since the Glossina palpalis, the dreaded transmitter of sleeping sickness, swarms in many places on the lake during the daytime.

484 The provisions for such trips lasting several days are generally taken along from the point of departure. They usually consist of sweet potatoes which are simply piled on the bottom of the boat and boiled whenever the boats land at a resting place.

481 The lake dwellers learn how to swim (kuoga) when they are still children, but because of the crocodiles they do not go into the water very far. People seldom swim in the interior where the rivers have many crocodiles. The swimming stroke is the same among all East African Negroes: with one arm far outstretched, the swimmer throws himself from one side to the other, striking out with only one arm at each stroke.

2. Trade, Money, Weights and Measures

439 In the whole of Urundi, the only trade worth mentioning is in the Tanganyika district. For political reasons, the government has closed off the entire area of central Urundi to foreign trade and traffic. Only a limited number of traveling merchants are permitted. Thus, trade in this area is limited
438 chiefly to the exchange of local products among the natives. With the exception of salt, this trade is not carried on over long distances but only between neighboring communities.

443 In the Tanganyika district of Urundi markets (akaguriro) are held daily in many places due to the influence of the adjacent Congo State. In central Urundi, however, this useful institution is unknown except in the vicinity of missionary stations and at the new residency, Gitega. During the past years, however, in

443 spite of the sleeping sickness, there has been a marked increase in the number of Barundi from the interior visiting some of these markets on Lake Tanganyika and more trading trips by Tanganyika people to central Urundi to buy cattle hides and wax, which they then bring to Usumbura.

438 317 Among themselves the Barundi of the distant interior trade field produce for other produce or for goats, sheep, hides, bark-cloth, pots, iron hoes, etc. The latter items are produced mainly by the Batwa (p. 77). The only trade object transported over a long distance is salt which is not found anywhere in Urundi itself. Formerly it was for the most part imported from adjoining Uha, but at present it is sold in much better quality by the Gottorp saltworks on the lower Malagarasi River which is under European management. It finds its way to the interior by way of Usumbura (Plate 27a).

439 Formerly palm oil was the main trade commodity in the Tanganyika region (p. 53), but since all traffic and trade in the Tanganyika region has been paralyzed by the terrible sleeping sickness epidemic, the oil trade, too, has decreased considerably. The smaller portion of the oil goes to central Urundi, the larger portion is absorbed by Ujiji and the west shore of the lake which is part of the Congo state. Bananas, pombe beer, butter, fish, goats, and sheep are exported both to central Urundi and to Ujiji and the eastern Congo. The Congo region sends mainly caoutchouc, a little ivory, and cattle in exchange. By far the greatest portion of trade with the Congo area is carried out by smuggling. [75] While import and export is free in the German controlled area, Congo authorities have imposed large tariffs on imports and exports. The natives, however, are very adept at circumventing them. Most of the smuggled products are brought in on paths through the swamp thickets of the Ruzizi which are very difficult to control.

439 435 Only wax and cattle hides are exported from central Urundi. In exchange, beads and thick wire (iron, copper, brass) are the main imports, in addition to relatively little cotton material but much salt. In 1911 it was calculated that about 18,000 to 20,000 cattle hides, priced at eight rupees or the equivalent

439 per farsalah [Arab., equal to approximately 35 British pounds],
435 were annually exported to Usumbura from central Urundi. The wax export amounted to 500 to 700 farsalah a year at 18 to 20 rupees per farsalah. The hides are mostly those of animals who had to be killed because of injury or sickness since only a few animals are killed to be eaten or sacrificed (p. 45). Live cattle are not exported at all because the Batussi owners of the cattle are very reluctant to part with them. Furthermore, there will not be a very good market for live cattle as long as they cannot be transported by rail and steamer to European buyers. Another serious obstacle to cattle export is the fact that the whole of Urundi, with the exception of the northern part of it (adjoining Ruanda) and the vicinity of Ujiji, is surrounded by a broad belt inhabited by the noxious tsetse fly. Perhaps it will someday be possible to break through this by means of railroads and special protective arrangements.

These two local products, wax and cattle hides, form the bulk of trade. They are exported for the most part from Usumbura via Kigali to Bukoba or from east Urundi via Ussuwi to Bukoba. Only a small portion is directed via Ujiji since the journey across the country to the coast is too long and expensive.
[491] Even the Tanganyika railroad will hardly change this situation for the time being considering the high freight rates it charges.
482 In 1911 a burden carrier, who carries 60 to 70 pounds and more,
465 received four to five rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Kigali, eight to nine rupees for the distance from Usumbura to Bukoba, and seven to eight rupees for the return trip from Bukoba to Usumbura on which he does not have to carry so unwieldy a burden as dry cattle hides. Because of sleeping sickness, the
487 trade route from Usumbura through the Ruzizi valley to Lake Kivu is closed.

Trading activity at the markets has, of course, also been
443 affected by sleeping sickness. As recently as 1900 there were still over a dozen well-frequented markets in a radius of three hours distance from Usumbura. The market in Usumbura itself had approximately 5,000 visitors daily. At present, however, only two markets in this area are still of some importance, Usumbura itself (Plate 27b) and Kajagga on the northern tip of

443 the lake. A recent addition to this in the interior is the market near the new government station at Gitega which is growing in importance. Apart from these, there are a whole number of small markets serving purely local needs. The market at Usumbura which is held from six o'clock in the morning until 10 or 11 o'clock -- like all other markets -- is still frequented by over 1,000 persons a day. It is conducted in a very orderly fashion under German governmental supervision. There is even a large roof
[347] of corrugated iron to protect the market from the sun and rain. The vendors, most of them women, squat in long rows under the roof and out in the open; each has his merchandise arranged in front of him in baskets or spread out on mats or banana leaves. The list of local products recorded by van der Burgt 15 years ago is still valid today: oil, salt, beer, cotton material, fish, mats, pots, jugs, bundles of tobacco, snuff, balls of soap, millet, [76] corn, flour, bananas, peanuts, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, yams, manioc, pumpkins, beef, goats, sheep, chickens, nets, spear shafts, bamboo poles, canes of reeds, firewood, rope, string, hoes, etc. In addition to this, today one may see all sorts of cheap European industrial products, such as brightly colored cotton blankets, various printed cotton materials, petroleum, cigarettes, glass beads, iron, copper and brass wire, hardware, and china.

443 562 Von Trotha also describes the markets as "the most characteristic feature of the region. Here every conceivable object is traded with much shouting or paid for with strings of beads and goods. There were thousands of haggling and shouting people at the market of Munkasa on the northeast shore of Lake Tanganyika, but everything is settled in an orderly fashion and without fighting. One may buy a woman for ten strings of red beads, and once tired of her, she may be returned to the market and once more exchanged for beads." (No. 8, p. 77). Of course, the trade in women has stopped now, and even at the time of Trotha's journey in 1896 it must have been a very rare transaction.

443 571 [203] The market is the place where people meet, inspect merchandise and observe other people, gossip, hear and pass on news items, drink pombe, discuss business and non-business matters, and where they do many things which are useful and many others which are superfluous. Many Barundi visit the market even if they do not intend to buy or sell anything, merely to amuse themselves. If things become too lively in [625] the beer section or if a fight starts, the market police aided by the peaceful elements among the population quickly succeed in restoring order.

436 The German East African heller is the current coin at the main markets of Usumbura, Kajagga, and Gitega. Silver rupees, half rupees, and quarter rupees are seldom seen. Apart from the heller, all sorts of other money substitutes are in circulation at other markets of the northern lakeshore belonging to Urundi. The heller has not yet penetrated into the large area of central Urundi, and it is known only at the few missionary and government posts and along the main roads linking them. Even there it is accepted reluctantly. Beads are still the most important medium of exchange in this area, notwithstanding the efforts of the government to introduce hellers and rupees everywhere in order to facilitate not only trade but also the future collection of taxes. These efforts will only meet with success after Urundi has actually been placed under government administration and after a hut or head tax has been introduced which has to be paid in currency. The same is true of Ruanda. There, however, the use of currency has already spread considerably as a result of the export trade and the residency at Kigali with its traders' settlement which has been established in the interior for years.

The small coin most in use in Urundi is the pink bead simsim or samsam; a string (kete, Kette? [Kette, "string" in German]) of beads, approximately 30 centimeters long, is the monetary unit. It is equivalent to three hellers. Ten strings equal 1 ifundo; 10 ifundo equal 1 ingoje; 10 ingoje equal 1 [301] akanono (No. 19, p. 111). The samsam bead is also used as the principal neck ornament of men and women.

Plate 27

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Packs of Salt from the Gottorp Saltworks on the Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Daily Market in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

No villages

361 Characteristic of the country is the non-existence of villages. Though some habitations may be close to one another, they can never be said to be grouped. [417] Isolated by the compact wooden fence that surrounds them, shut from the outside world by a narrow, easily closing gate, they never look towards any central point that could distinguish some more or less important unit from similar units merely by its being oriented towards that central point. In fact, no such central point ever exists, but cabins appear sprinkled all over the country, in a denser or looser or sometimes discontinued dissemination it is true, but always without any well defined organic nucleus.

No markets

443 439 Not only in its not having villages is Urundi different from most African countries: neither had it any markets. Before the colonization, markets were only held in the coastal sector of Tanganyika, where their presence can probably be related to the existence of a fishing population. In the interior, the [177] first markets originated with German colonists in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was in the vicinity of administrative posts and missions. Foreign trading, concerned only with skins and salt, was on a very small scale.

443 Now Africa is almost entirely a village country and it has also been said it is the favourite land for markets. Admittedly, village and market are far from coinciding in space: but they are not entirely unrelated. Village means daily meeting, market periodical meeting. This regular contact between inhabitants of one more or less important region is certainly less frequent in Urundi than elsewhere.

535 I am inclined to compare with this what can be ascertained concerning dancing. Except in the east (Kumoso), the west (Imbo), and the South (Buha), except with the Batwa, except with women and girls (which I confess is not negligible), dancing has neither the form nor the meaning usual with other popula- [534] tions; as the drum remains a privilege of the *mwami* (sultan), there is no tom-tom; the chiefs themselves pick the carefully trained war-dancers from the whole of their district: such a dance is meant to exalt the chief, not to be a factor of unity for the male population of a district.

Cattle-breeding and agriculture

224 226 Except for the Batwa, hunting is of little importance to the country's life: for the Batutsi, it is a mere sport without practical utility. The economic significance of fishing is not greater.

231 The social significance of cattle-breeding is considerable, yet its economic importance is smaller than

567 northwestern part of the country. "The Wahunde [Hunde] annually sell hundreds of their children as slaves to Ruanda because their country is too small for their large families, and they do not have enough food."

443 Markets. Markets where people gather at certain hours of the day in order to exchange their goods are common only in the north and west. They seem to be entirely absent in the east. Dr. Kandt sees Western influence in the institution. (2) To me this does not

2. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 332.

seem quite correct. In the first place, it also exists in Nduga, as I discovered for myself. Secondly, we have adequate reason to assume that Bahutu-Ruanda, before it was influenced by Batutsi, was very similar to the territories on the other side of the great African trough [Rift Valley]. It is possible that markets are a very old institution that survived only in the west and north. In the Batutsi provinces markets may have disappeared with the conquest, just as they vanished in the vicinity of the Belgian stations, especially in Uele, or, at any rate, they are hidden from the eyes of the conquerors. The latter have not infrequently confiscated market goods because no taxes were paid on them.

In Nduga I saw two markets offering iron hoes (iguliro lyi byuma). One was half an hour from Kwa Rutagungira in Bulamba, the other was located between Nyanza and Kabgaye on a hill three hours from the latter settlement. When I passed through, the market near Kwa Rutagungira was patronized by a great many smiths from Mount Ndisa. Below Marangara, on the Nyawarongo in Bukonya, there is a charcoal market. Charcoal is burned in the Tschingogo Forest and traded by the people of Chief Niamakwa of Bushiru for millet and old hoes.

Since olden times there has been a food market, open daily, in Nyundo on the Mission Bridge between Katebe Hill and the Ssebeya. The people gather early in the morning and leave between 11 and 12 o'clock. There is another market town in the northwestern part of Kisenyi.

443 In Mulera there is a market place a few hours from Ruasa. Luhanga, the representative of Nshohozamigo, tried to move the market to the neighborhood of the Ruasa Mission. He thought that he could thereby make the missionaries [165] obligated to him and, on the other hand, increase his profits. It was to be assumed that the highway over the Mission Bridge which everyone takes to Ruweruka and Bugoye would attract even more customers than the old site. However, the expectation was not fulfilled. At first people came out of curiosity, but they soon went back to the old site. This example proves that we are dealing here with old, firmly established traditions.

In the west markets occur three to four hours apart, as Dr. Kandt (1) has already pointed out.

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 294.

[443]

Fig. 52. Litter from Mulera. (1/12 actual size. III 13685. 128 centimeters long.)

In Nyundo the market attracted several hundred people daily between eight and ten in the morning. There were also several middlemen taking part, who collected commissions. To avoid the market tax people also carried on transactions along the roadsides near the market. We observed such small auxiliary markets at the crossroads.

487 Communication. The Munyaruanda travels on foot. When several people travel together they move in single file on the well-trodden paths which have been used for centuries. The paths avoid straight lines. They carefully circumvent every obstacle, every stone, every fallen tree trunk. Despite these minor deviations, the course of the path is definitely fixed and determined by the ferries. Nothing could be more incorrect than the assertion heard not infrequently that on a trip any path can be used as long as

651 the Akanjaru which can be crossed at only a few places because
491 of the swampy condition of its channel, it is their duty to prevent the natives from leaving Ruanda without the king's consent. It is obvious that under these conditions the ferry tolls are sometimes increased very considerably.

651 A further burden affecting the trader is the market tax, indamu.
443 In Nyundo it was very high, 10 to 15 percent of the value of the article traded. Here Lwakadygi, Gamidji, and Makobi took turns collecting the tax.

The result of this high tax is that small auxiliary markets are set up along the paths near the markets. Here transactions are tax free. The chiefs who collect the indamu also settle disputes that arise in the markets.

651 Ivory from slain elephants and leopard skins are the property of the king and must be sent to Nyanza. The regulation requiring leopard skins to be delivered seems to be connected with the belief that after their deaths the members of the family of Ruanda rulers become leopards.

721 Military Affairs. The king makes all decisions concerning
643 war and peace. He wages war in order to punish rebellious vassals or to win over vassals of other kings.

701 The troops are made up of ngabo. They are divided into contingents, the names of which are independent of the names of the provinces or of the chiefs who happen to be in command. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) mentions the Bangogo contingent under

1. Parisch, F. R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903 [Two Journeys through Ruanda 1902 to 1903]," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 77.

Ruenankiko (Ruidangigo) and the Lujango contingent under Kabare.

Usually only a few contingents are called out for military expeditions. This was the case, for example, with the last expedition against the Mutwa Bassebia in 1906, which ended in failure.

Generals are appointed separately by the king for each expedition. Ruhara Aramanzi was the commander-in-chief of the

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Ruanda. The exception was the place where the royal court happened to be established. At the end of the nineteenth century the most permanent site was Nyanza, which was and still is regarded as the capital. One or two thousand people lived there, but Nyanza was not a village or a town. It was rather the great homestead of the king surrounded by the small temporary dwellings occupied by the different chiefs when they came to the court to pay a more or less long and obligatory visit to their sovereign. The king had other residences throughout the country where he stayed regularly.

Markets do not appear to have been numerous in Ruanda before the European occupation. Goods were exchanged mainly through other channels; the tribute of subject, dues of clients, gifts from the lords, &c. At all events the few markets where goods from abroad, such as rock-salt coming from the Lake Edward region, were exchanged, did not become centres of villages as in many other parts of Africa.

5. HEALTH

The general health of a people is as significant a part of the background of their culture and social institutions as are physical environment or demography. We can only conjecture about the situation before Europeans came, but there is some evidence.

The health of a group of people depends partly on their diet. The present day diet is lacking in animal proteins, vegetable fats (containing vitamins A, D, and E), and green vegetables.[26] We have no reason to believe that there was a higher consumption of meat fifty years ago, or that there were oleaginous plants growing which have disappeared and that the habit of eating green vegetables has been lost. According to nutritionists, these shortcomings cannot be compensated by a consumption, however abundant, of carbohydrates, a high percentage of which is to be found in maize, sorghum, peas, and beans. Also, if a fairly adequate consumption of the latter foodstuffs is possible now (in the sense that the total annual yield for the country is sufficient for the total number of people), it is not to be assumed that the total production was as high fifty years ago as it is now. On the contrary, the figures we have indicate that fifty years ago, the production of maize, sorghum, peas, and beans was much lower than today.

[26] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 56; Close, 1955.